

# On CPI(M)'s Demand for more power to the States and the question of Centre-State Relation

The working people of our country are groaning under the grinding wheel of capitalist exploitation. With every day passing, the burden of miseries is being further mounted up and they try to raise their heads by organising their struggles and legitimate democratic mass movements. The ruling parties, both at the centre and in the states, the same very parties which were vociferous about people's rights and liberties and promised for their restoration before the poll, are trying to put tight leash on these movements and struggles of the people by allowing the police and bureaucracy to have an absolutely free hand in imposing 'peace' and 'discipline'. But the real test of democratic rights and liberties lies neither in the soothing words of the bourgeois and social-democratic politicians nor in the embellishment of the bourgeois constitution but in the actual right of the exploited people to develop their struggle against the capitalist exploitation.

In the light of this concrete perspective and against the particular background of the present historical stage of our country's socio-economic-political development, the class conscious proletariat and the toiling people will have to analyse and judge the demand raised by CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government for a loose type of federation and "strong states". They will have to judge from the basic angle of accelerating legitimate democratic movement and advancing class struggle for the ultimate goal of emancipation from capitalist yoke.

## The background

More than a year back, Sm. Indira Gandhi, in her wily move to have a show of popular sanction to the authoritarian measures of Emergency called for a so-called national consensus on the eve of formalising the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution. Different parliamentary parties including the CPI and CPI(M) were responding to that call by offering suggestions calculated to serve the very motive and purpose of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie on whose behalf Sm. Gandhi was offering the bait. At this juncture, it was only our party, on the basis of thoughts and concrete guidance of our great departed leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, could guard and defend the interest of the proletariat and the toiling masses by giving a timely caution not to fall a prey to the trap the bourgeoisie was laying with the aid and assistance of all the bourgeois and

social-democratic parties and politicians.

On the concrete guidance of our great departed leader and teacher Comrade Ghosh our party placed before the people, certain basic and concrete questions in order to help them reading through correctly, the game these bourgeois parties and politicians were playing just to beguile them.

After a year, the Emergency having been formally lifted, the election having been held under a new bourgeois design of 'two party system' and all these bourgeois and social democratic parties who were showing to the people their utmost concern for the democratic rights and liberties of the people having shared among themselves governmental powers and privileges, the fundamental and democratic rights of the people far from being extended have not even been restored, their inalienable right to rise against capitalist exploitation and oppression through

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# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Founder Editor-in-Chief—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

VOL. II

1st JANUARY '78

PRICE 30 P.

No. 9

SUNDAY

Air Surcharge 4 P.

## Resist the attack on the autonomy of the Universities—SUCI's call to the people

In protest against the reported decision of the 'Left Front' to supersede four Universities of the State Shri Shukomal Dasgupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee SUCI, has issued the following statement to the press:

"The decision of the 'Left Front' to supersede four Universities of the State including the premier University of Calcutta is yet another blow on the democratic aspirations of the people. The constituents of the 'Left Front', who quite correctly opposed, along with us, the move to declare Calcutta University as a 'National University' during the previous regime on the ground that it would hit at

the autonomy of the Calcutta University, are finding today fantastic logic of superseding these Universities without affecting their autonomy. Only the confused politicians or the peddlers of deliberate distortions can make people believe such a queer logic.

There cannot be two opinions on the urgent necessity of regular holding of examinations and timely publication of results, streamlining University administration, removing corruption, improving the academic standard and all that. But how can these be improved upon by taking recourse to supersession is difficult to understand. Because, any institution controlled

directly by the Government does not necessarily present any better picture on this score. If the 'Left Front' were really very serious to remove corruption it would have come forward to build up necessary political consciousness, democratic norms and sense of values among the people which alone can help weed out corruption, by encouraging legitimate democratic mass movement.

Moreover, the plea that there must be political reflection of the ruling party on academic institutions is fraught with the danger of opening the flood-gate and creating a precedence of political aberration of academic (Contd. to Page 5)

## Remembering Comrade V. Natarajan

To pay homage to the memory of Comrade V. Natarajan, a member Kerala State Organising Committee and Secretary Quilon District Organising Committee, a memorial meeting was held at Quilon YMCA Hall on 17th December, 1977. The meeting was presided over by Comrade C. K. Lukose, a member of the state organising committee. Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Central Committee, SUCI was present as the main speaker paying tribute to Comrade Natarajan, on behalf of the Central Committee. Comrade Chanda said that

as a worthy student of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh an outstanding Marxist philosopher of this era Comrade Natarajan remained ever firm, determined and uncompromising in his struggle for identification of the self with the party and revolution. Urging the Comrades to learn from his revolutionary life and character Comrade Chanda said that because of his very nature of revolutionary modesty, love to the people and impersonal approach to every question whoever came in touch with Comrade Natarajan, loved him deeply and through him,

loved the party. And because of this very quality he could win the love of the people and particularly of the mothers of the locality, who loved him more even than their own children. In all his relationship, he reflected true ethical love. Comrade Chanda said that a Comrade attain such a standard only when through a relentless struggle he can acquire a higher level of proletarian culture and revolutionary purposiveness. With emotional voice Comrade Chanda concluded: "As the students of the Great

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# The basic question is to judge whether the proposal is conducive to mass movement and class struggle of the toiling people

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organised movement and struggles is being curbed and opposed.

So, the concrete questions and the readings, we placed before the people, then, not only have been vindicated fully but they even now call for deeper study by the toiling people to decide their course, so as to guard the very future of their legitimate democratic movement. This assumes all the more importance when the ruling bourgeois and social-democratic parties are again up in their game of constitutionalism, calculated to bring confusion and doing immense harm to the unity and cohesion of the proletariat and toiling people of all nationalities and the class struggle which revolutionary politics and people's interest demand to place above everything.

## The Basic Questions

What are these basic questions that we raised and which now also, must guide the people in deciding their outlook and approach to the suggestions or proposals for constitutional amendments coming as they are from the bourgeois and social-democratic parties?

The first point is to judge the very purpose or direction of these suggestions, that is to say, whether they will be conducive to intensifying the struggles of the toiling masses towards the goal of social revolution at a given stage of development of class struggle or just the reverse, they put obstacles to that course. From this angularity, a party truly upholding the cause of the proletariat and the exploited masses will stand for not only the restoration and preservation of even the very limited and restricted nature of rights within the bourgeois constitution but will demand for their further extension so as to help develop legitimate democratic mass movements deeper and wider, paving the way for the emergence of revolutionary leadership over

them as a precursor to struggles for social transformation.

So, the fundamental question here is to judge whether these demands for changes or reforms in the bourgeois constitution are being raised from the platform of people's movement or they are being raised by different bourgeois and petty bourgeois social-democratic parties to distract the attention of the people from the real issue as also in their mutual contention and collaboration within the framework of bourgeois parliamentary politics. For, it is one thing to put concrete demands for changes or reforms in the bourgeois constitution despite its inherent limitation and forcing the bourgeoisie to accept those reforms or changes by the pressure of mass movement without however harbouring and educating the people not to harbour any illusion about the so-called 'democratic solution' to fundamental problems in people's life—a myth, the bourgeoisie propagates. The object of those demands from the platform of mass movement is to accelerate and intensify the democratic mass movement and not to defend the bourgeois system.

But it is completely a different thing when the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians bring moves or suggestions for so-called changes of reforms in the bourgeois constitution, when they raise the so-called demands of decentralisation of powers, federalism etc. in order to share governmental power and privileges among themselves in their common service to the rule of monopoly capital, they all do this to distract the attention of the toiling masses from the real issue at the moment as also from the real class character and motive of such reforms. All this they do to bring confusions and disarray among the proletarians of different nationalities by disturbing the process of amalgamation, alliance and cohesion in

the common cause of intensifying the class struggle against the rule of capital.

The second point which no Marxist-Leninist can afford to miss is to judge any political question—be it constitutional amendment or any other political issue in the concrete background of the definite socio-economic-political system of a country or in other words, in terms of the definite class character of the state. For it is a well known proposition to any Marxist-Leninist that capital, and in our time monopoly capital, manifests its power in this or that form. No matter whether the constitution is federal or unitary it always adjusts to the forms of domination. As such whatever may be the particular forms or provisions in the bourgeois constitution, how finely they may be painted in attractive colours, they cannot conceal the fact that in reality the bourgeois state is essentially the power of capital and it is a bourgeois class machine to oppress the workers and toiling people. Even the bourgeois constitutional experts are to give admission to this purely formal character of the provisions in the bourgeois constitutions when they say "A constitution is not what is written but how it works". That is the reason why all the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and politicians show their eagerness to this purely formal aspect while negating the real rights of the people. They raise the demand for autonomy or decentralisation of powers to spread the illusion among the masses that as if these are the real issues, as if those, if accepted, will ensure the rights and liberties of the exploited masses. They do so to hide the class reality that the real rights and liberties of the exploited people in a bourgeois society cannot be in what is written in the constitution but in actual acceptance of their rights to build up struggles and movements against the

exploitation of the capitalist rule. It is people's movement and their organisation, their strength of resistance that is the real issue, the real guarantee of their right to advance as a class.

Thirdly, one of the important teachings of Marxism-Leninism is to determine the central focal point before the people at a given moment. It may well happen that at a particular moment in a country under a definite political set up, there are so many issues before the people. A party of the proletariat or for that matter any genuine Marxist-Leninist is to determine as to which among those is the major one. That is to say, he is to determine which of them is most intimately and vitally related to the question of developing and intensifying mass movements and which one is being raised just to divert peoples' attention from the central focal point and with what motive.

In the concrete context of these basic questions, we are to analyse and judge the demand for autonomy or decentralisation of power by CPI(M) and the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal, led by it.

**Development of democratic Mass movement against capitalist exploitation and for democratic rights and liberties is the central focal point at the moment**

The Central focal point before the democratic mass movement today, is the restoration and preservation of those very rights and liberties which were in the bourgeois constitution even a few years back as also their further extension. No Marxist-Leninist worth the name can deny the necessity of defending and preserving the fundamental and democratic rights and liberties of the people even in a bourgeois country so long the people have not prepared themselves to throw away the

very exploitative capitalist system. A genuine party of the proletariat calls the people to fight for restoration, preservation and further extension of the rights and liberties not to be bogged down in the quagmire of bourgeois democracy but to utilise those, at this particular stage of democratic movement, for the widening and intensifying mass struggles so that through them people's own political power can appear in the concrete shape of their own instruments of struggle. So, not only will it be the prime task but it will also be the very purpose of entering into bourgeois election or in the government for a genuine Marxist-Leninist party to wage this struggle for rights and liberties involving the widest possible sections of the exploited masses.

But what is the reality today? Almost all the political parties barring the Congress and its allies, spoke against the Emergency and its particular authoritarian measures. The Janata Party which was propped up by the bourgeoisie as their national alternative as also the CPI(M), chosen as the regional alternative, have been in the governments both at the centre and in the state of West Bengal respectively. To what extent, they have restored the democratic rights and norms about which they were so much vociferous before the election?

By clamping Emergency the previous Indira regime denied the people their right even to organise democratic movement including strike or any form of struggle so that they could not put up minimum resistance to grinding exploitation of the capitalists. Indira Gandhi boasted of industrial 'peace' and 'discipline' being the chief achievements of Emergency, meaning thereby the perfect security and ease of mind of the capitalists so far as workers'

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# Development of Legitimate Democratic Mass Movement is the Central focal point at the present moment

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resistance was concerned. So, restoration of democratic rights and liberties, if it is to connote anything to the working people, must mean restoration of their rights and liberties to organise democratic movements on legitimate demands against the capitalists and the government. But has it come?

Emergency has been formally withdrawn but strikes and militant forms of mass movements are being frowned upon, are being opposed not only by overt means but also by covert and subtle means. In the name of 'law and order', industrial 'peace', 'discipline' or on the plea of creating employment by appeasing the monopolists, both the governments at the centre and in the States including the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal are denouncing and suppressing mass struggles of the workers, peasants and other exploited strata. Janata Government is brutally suppressing workers' movements by spilling blood of the workers and the 'Left Front' is using all the mass organisations under its command in league with police and bureaucracy to do the same job in serving the common master, the ruling bourgeois class. The Chief Minister of the 'Left Front' Government is boastfully claiming that his state is the most "peaceful one". Does it mean that people's legitimate demands have been met here? No, they groan under the agony of capitalist exploitation but only their cry is hushed to silence. So also, the spokesmen of the 'Left Front' are advertising as their achievement that the harvesting season, this year, has been most 'peaceful' in as much as all those who have died in harvesting clashes belong to the poor strata, the sharecroppers. Possibly they also share the opinion that when poor people die the 'law and order' is not disturbed! This is one aspect. Then take the case of freedom

of press or opinion. The previous regime tried for the help and co-operation of the press barons by means of what is called 'self censorship'. The device is to black-out all the opinions and viewpoints of the party or parties who go against the ruling party. The ruling bourgeoisie had other plan of introducing 'two party system' and therefore this request was not acceded to. Then came the government's decision of censorship on papers and journals. Now, with much fanfare, the censorship law has been withdrawn. But what is going on now? Our party being the sole voice of the revolutionary proletariat in our country is the target of systematic black-out by all the leading bourgeois dailies. Not a mention can be found in them of huge gatherings we organised on several occasions although wide coverage is accorded to small gatherings provided they are at the initiative of those parties who are the helping partners in the new bourgeois device of 'two party' system. Our Party's views and even the performance and stand of MLAs within the Assembly are being distorted and such distortion is being done even by a daily like the Statesman in its editorial comment. News on workers movements are being suppressed. Police intervention and attacks on legitimate democratic movements are being blacked-out. Can all these be the examples of restoration of freedom of press for which all these dailies—their proprietors and editors speak so much and write so much? MISA is being replaced by preventive detention. The difference is only in name but the fact is that the government retains the right to deny personal freedom to individuals without even a show of trial. Does it square with the first principle of 'rule of law' which all these parties promised to restore?

So, as regards attitude

to mass movement and people's struggles as also the approach to so-called 'law and order' there is substantially no difference between the Emergency situation and now—only the tactics change.

The fact of the matter is that deeper down this social reality lies the root cause of the problem which is the ever-deepening third intense stage of crisis, that is to say, the overall crisis of the capitalist order. In the midst of this crisis, the bourgeoisie can ill-afford to meet even the minimum demands of the toiling people. Crushed under the dead-weight of capitalist exploitation, the toiling people want to raise their heads through organised movements which the crisis ridden bourgeoisie dreads much. In fact before the Emergency, in the growing restiveness and movements of different sections of the toiling people the bourgeoisie saw the danger and imposed the most authoritarian rule to suppress them in the name of Internal Emergency. It was 'Internal Emergency' no doubt, but Emergency of the crisis-ridden ruling bourgeois class and not simply of an individual power-loving bourgeois politician as the bourgeois parties as also parties like CPI(M) would have the people believe. They were and even now propagating this trash.

Today, when the Janata Party brings some amendments to and not the wholesale deletion of the notorious 42nd Amendment retracing from its pre-poll promise and when even the amendments are halting and mere face lifts, CPI(M) is pursuing the same double-faced policy. It is raising slogans in posters and propaganda the abrogation of the 42nd Amendment but its politbureau member P. Ramamurthy is joining the meetings, the government is holding with all the parliamentary parties including the Congress to reach a consensus in the matter of bringing amendments to the 42nd Amend-

ment. The politbureau of CPI(M) in its resolution (Peoples Democracy—November 13, 77) "Welcomes the general direction of the proposals" and holds that "The civil liberties and democratic rights abrogated in the 42nd Amendment would thus to a large extent be restored". It is for the rank and file members of this party and the toiling people to see through this game in opportunist politics.

**Memorandum of CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government on Centre-State relation is against the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and is thoroughly opportunist**

After helping thus the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie in having the opportunity to get away with some of the amendments only to the 42nd Amendment, CPI(M) is trying to divert the attention of the people further, for more than one reason by its demand for more autonomy and powers to the States. CPI(M)'s opportunism by open repudiation of the basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism becomes more vivid in the memorandum of the 'Left Front' Government, drafted according to press report, by its leader Mr. Jyoti Basu. It outbids the DMK and the Rajamanner Committee set up by the Annadurai Government of the DMK, in its demand for a loose type federation, suggested at the time of transference of power by the British and Muslim League politicians. It is, therefore, not only utterly opportunist in the very motivation but is fraught with serious consequences to peoples' unity and democratic movements which let alone the Marxists even the consistent democratic elements can hardly afford to overlook or undermine.

The memorandum demands inclusion of the word 'federal' in the preamble to the Indian Constitution and replacement of the word 'union' by 'federation' wherever

it appears. It also says that nothing beyond foreign relations including foreign trade, defence, communications, currency and economic co-ordination should be the exclusive domain of the Centre and that the residual power should be not with the Centre but with the states. The memorandum has demanded a thorough remodelling to fence off the states thoroughly in financial, administrative and political fields but like the DMK Government it has never failed to assert that though they are for strong states they are also for strong Centre, of course if it is confined within the five subjects, enumerated.

Defending these demands for decentralisation of powers, the memorandum says that "devolution of powers to the states" may help ward off "fissiparous tendencies" which are encouraged if the "democratic aspirations" and "the distinctiveness" of the people of different states are "treated with disdain". That is to say, in the opinion of CPI(M) led "Left Front" Government, decentralisation of powers and distinctiveness of the people of different states are the "democratic aspirations" and they would be satisfied if all these demands are accepted. But if they are not accepted then "fissiparous tendencies" will be encouraged.

Whether all these demands themselves give rise to "fissiparous tendencies", whether they reflect the "democratic aspirations" or are just opposed to democratic movements and the cause of the proletariat are to be tested in the general context of the law of social development and more particularly in the concrete analysis of the concrete historic development in our country. We are to judge in particular, from what motive, these demands are being placed at this particular stage of socio-economic - political development of the country and whether they are

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conducive to the development of democratic movement of the people and class struggle paving the way for social transformation or put positive obstacles to the process of integration and alliance of proletarians of all nationalities and the intensification of the class struggle.

Let us recall at the outset the incontrovertible historic fact that the Indian state has developed as a multi-nationality bourgeois sovereign state through the historic process of nation formation and more particularly through the national freedom movement against imperialism with the common concept of Indian nationhood although with weaknesses and shortcomings because of historic reasons.

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great teacher of the proletariat and our great departed leader and teacher has shown :

"Antagonism with imperialism on the one hand and mortal fear of revolutionary struggle by the people against imperialism on the other hand made the nationalist section of the Indian bourgeoisie maintain a *reformist oppositional* role against imperialism. Its role against feudalism was equally compromising. Indian capitalism, therefore, tried to develop through compromises with both imperialism and feudalism. The result of compromises with feudalism was that the Indian bourgeoisie could not and did not carry out the tasks of social and cultural revolutions essential for the democratization of the society and complete merger of different nationalities speaking different languages and different communities professing different religions into a nation. In the course of the political movement against imperialism, the Indian people speaking different languages and professing different religions became a nation politically but for failure on the part of the leadership of our national liberation movement to accomplish, in the main, the tasks of

## "As long and in so far as different nations constitute an integral state Marxists will not under any circumstances advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation" —V. I. LENIN

social and cultural revolutions against feudalism, feudal disunity and religious bondage and democratization of the society, the Indian people remained socially and culturally divided into different communities disunited by religion, caste, language, race etc.

(Speech of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the National Democratic Convention 29th and 30th November, 1964: Socialist Unity, Dec. '64)

That is why, as **Comrade Ghosh** has shown "Under bourgeois rule some tasks of democratic revolution still remain unaccomplished. The national question is such an unaccomplished task... But it cannot be denied that the democratic movement so far conducted by the democratic forces in our country has been confined only to the movement for realising political and economic demands. The tasks of social and cultural revolutions have never been incorporated in the programme of democratic movement in our country. Such an incomplete programme will not do. So the programme for the democratic movement... should include the tasks of social and cultural revolutions in our country, which remain unaccomplished even today".—(Ibid)

During the long thirty years of bourgeois rule, the national question has been further complicated because of the opportunist parliamentary politics resorted to in petty party interest not only by the branded bourgeois parties but even by the so-called left parties like CPI(M). Let alone incorporating the incomplete task of social cultural revolution within the programme of democratic movement they have exploited, for petty party interest in parliamentary politics, the narrow regional parochial and even communal feelings and sentiments. Even few years' back CPI(M) raised

the bogey, before the election, that "Bengal is the colony of the Centre". Sensing opposition and difficulties they later denied this fact but the slogan they painted in the walls have not all been erased nor the people have forgotten the speeches the leaders of this party made in series of meetings during the entire election campaign.

Naturally monopoly bourgeoisie cannot miss the opportunity of exploiting the situation particularly when it is in the midst of severe crisis. Monopoly bourgeoisie generally is in favour of centralism because of the compelling reason of development of capitalism at this monopoly stage. It requires centralism in administrative set up in the economic sphere as also in the political set up. Because of this historic compulsion, even in Switzerland and U.S.A. no matter the model character of their federal constitutions, this centralism operates in political economic administrative spheres which nobody can deny today. But still then as **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has pointed out: "Capitalism, which for the sake of national integration and formation of the nation at a certain stage of its development tried to unify different communities of the people in a given territory, also tries at a different stage of its development, i.e. in the imperialist stage, to disrupt the unity of the people for its own security against popular uprising. The more acute its crisis becomes, resulting in more intense struggles by the working people against capitalist order, the more fascist capitalism becomes when it tries to fan religious and racial sentiment of the people to misdirect popular struggle against capitalism".—(Ibid)

Viewed in the background of these teachings, concrete experiences and

lessons, would any sensible man, let alone a Marxist say that the solution to the problem now exists pertaining to the national question in our country lies in the slogan of federalism or small state mentality as contained in the demand of CPI(M) and the 'Left Front' Government led by it? Will this not join force with the separatist and divisive parochial moves as in Tamilnadu and other parts of the country? CPI(M)'s recent demand goes far beyond such parochial moves of the DMK and other regional parties whose demand is confined within the exclusiveness of a particular region or the state. Moreover to demand that the states should enjoy all powers excepting on foreign affairs, defence, communication, economic co ordination and currency, which should be the exclusive domain of the Central Government, implicitly suggests that the states should enjoy some sort of a 'special status' as was envisaged for Kashmir. Nobody can deny that whereas the accession of Kashmir to India for over all political consideration and existing reality was fully justified, the special status of Kashmir was recommended by all democratic forces because of the peculiar and complex situation of Kashmir which could not practically integrate itself with the mainstream of freedom struggle against British imperialism.

So if this 'special status' is accorded to the states which implicitly follows from the memorandum of the 'Left Front' Government does it not go against the current of history which aims at reverting the very process of national integration achieved through our freedom struggle and establishment of the independent bourgeois state? Of course, the CPI(M) is trying to take advantage of the low level of political

consciousness of the people but that cannot negate the realities of history. For, the people belonging to different nationalities, speaking different dialects and having different religious faith in our country fought against the common enemy, the British imperialism, with the common goal and aspiration having the common concept of Indian nationhood. The emotional unity for a common nationhood, apart from the socio-economic factors were very much there which are the natural ingredients for nation formation. During this bourgeois rule also, despite unevenness in the stage of political consciousness and development of democratic movement, the working people are fighting against the rule of capital with the common class interest and goal of bringing an end to it. Kashmiri people though had link with the Indian national movement, their state was acceded to India in a special circumstances and therefore they required a special safeguard. But this position cannot come in comparison to the position of other states and the people who were in the mainstream of national liberation movement. In fact, it is the history that the people rejected the plan of loose federation of the central sphere being confined to the four or five subjects on the line of the demand of this memorandum, brought by some of the British imperialist politicians along with Muslim League leaders and branded it as a conspiracy to 'Balkanise' the country. This is known to all students of political history of our country.

So, in advocating federalism or decentralisation of powers at this stage of social development on the pretext of preserving the so-called 'distinctiveness' of the people of different states, CPI(M) not only comes in open renunciation of the Marxist-Leninist stand on national question but is also revealing its utterly

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## Autonomy of the Universities

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institutions with each and every change of the character of the Government. The assumption that since the Government claims itself to be 'left' and 'progressive', the control of such 'Left Government' on these institutions will enhance the cause of leftism only bespeaks of their utter ignorance of the fundamentals of leftism and Marxism-Leninism, in as much as the control established, in the ultimate analysis, is the control of the exploitative capitalist state machine through the control of the party in power in the present parliamentary set up. This is bound to lead to dangerous regimentation of thought which the ruling class is aimed at achieving in its bid to establish complete fascism in the country.

In fact, this move cannot but remind us of the dangerous logic of Smt. Indira Gandhi who spoke in favour of Emergency on the plea, among others, of stopping mass-copying in examinations and removing all sorts of corruption from educational and other institutions. The previous Congress Governments starting from the period of Shri Bidhan Chandra Roy down to Shri Siddhartha Shankar Roy did not dare to play with fire of superseding particularly the Calcutta University with such long tradition which still enjoyed some freedom and autonomy in comparison to others.

So there cannot be any iota of doubt, despite all claim by the 'Left Front', that the whole move is primarily prompted by the diabolical design of the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' to establish typical narrow sectarian party control over University education just in the line of superseding the Board of Secondary Education which it did the other day. Their demand for more power from the Centre to the States is grossly inconsistent with their practice at taking

[ Some of the news from the states which we could not cover in the last issue are being given here —Editorial Board. P. Era ]

### Bihar

## Demonstration at Chhapra

Responding to the call of the Central Committee to develop people's movements on burning issues a big demonstration was organised before the office chamber of the District Magistrate of Saran on 29th October 1977.

The demonstration started from the Chhapra Kachery railway station at 10 A.M. Carrying party flags, festoons and demand placards highly impressed the general members of the public. Passing all the main roads of the town the demonstration stopped in front of the D.M.'s office.

On behalf of the demons-

trators Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey, member of the Bihar State Committee, SUCI and two other district leaders met the District Magistrate and submitted to him a memorandum demanding immediate solution of the problems confronting people's life.

A meeting was also held at the D.M.'s office compound and Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey addressed the demonstrators and urged them to come forward to build up a mighty movement to force the government to concede to the demands.

### Uttar Pradesh

## 60th Anniversary of November Revolution Observed at Jaunpur

60th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution was observed at Jaunpur, by the Jaunpur District Committee of SUCI, in response to the call of the Central Committee of our Party. An attractive demonstration of more than one thousand people with flags and festoons of the Party and banners of different mass organisations like KKMS, AIDSO etc. coming from different parts of the district gathered at N. Railway Station, Jaunpur and proceeded towards the Collectorate and Court's compound trekking a distance

away the very little rights and authorities which these Universities used to enjoy.

We would urge upon the 'Left Front' Government to reconsider this decision, organise debates and discussions among the students, educationists and the guardians, hold immediate elections to the Senate, Academic Council, Syndicate and other bodies of the Universities, which is long overdue, in the interest of democratisation of education. We call upon the democratic minded people to rise up to the occasion and to mount pressure on the Government not to ring the death knell of University autonomy.

of 6 Kilometers covering the main streets of the city. The demonstrators carried placards which contained various teachings of our beloved departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and various slogans demanding the release of all political prisoners, withdrawal of all draconian acts like MISA, DIR etc, restoration, preservation and extension of democratic rights and civil liberties, banning of private trade in food grains and all essential commodities and introduction of all out state trading, curbing of unprecedented price rise and bringing it down within people's easy reach etc. etc.

On behalf of the demonstrators Comrade Jagdish Chandra Asthana, Secretary, Jaunpur District Committee, SUCI and Comrades Sripal Dubey, Dinesh Kant Dubey, Shyam Bahadur Singh, Hiralal, all members of the District Committee and Comrade Jagannath Verma, Secretary, AIDSO, UP State Committee met the District Magistrate and submitted a list of demands signed by 20,000 people of the district.

A meeting was held afterwards and Comrade Jagdish Chandra Asthana in his presidential speech

### West Bengal

## Big mass meeting at Bagmundi in Purulia

On 3rd November, a big mass meeting was organised by the Purulia District Committee, SUCI at the Bagmundi Bus Stand. Comrade Sadhu Banerjee, a veteran mass leader and a member of the Party's District Committee, presided over the meeting. Comrade K. Mukherjee, Secretary, Purulia District Committee and Comrade Chinmoy Sengupta one of the important organisers of the district addressed the gathering.

Comrade Probbash Ghosh, member of the West Bengal State Secre-

tariat, in his address as the main speaker, said that it is this capitalist economic system which is solely responsible for all the problems confronting people's life. Without overthrowing this exploitative system there cannot be any basic solution of these problems and that is only possible in the path shown by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

He urged upon all to devote themselves whole heartedly to strengthen SUCI and build up movements conducive to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution of our country.

### Kerala

## CPI(M) vandalism on SUCI book-stall at Trivandrum

Trivandrum, 18th November: The CPI(M) is now openly making attack on SUCI activities in Kerala. On the 17th November last, the CPI(M) workers forcibly dismantled a SUCI book-stall here at the Overbridge Square.

In Trivandrum, our Party like in other places, constructed this book stall at the Overbridge Square as a part of its literary campaign in observance of the 60th Anniversary of the Great November Revolution. On the day of the incident, while the CPI(M) workers with their local leaders were assembling at the square for a demonstration, some of their workers and leaders started slandering our Party with most abusive and slang languages aiming at our comrades in the book stall. When our workers protested and invited them for proper political exchange their leaders, on

the contrary, more enthusiastically instigated their workers who forcibly dismantled the stall. The leaders personally, being present at the spot, supervised the whole dismantling operation.

This is not a singular incident. Earlier, calculated moves were also made by the CPI(M) to disturb the book stalls and public meetings held in different parts of Trivandrum and Quilon Districts in connection with the observance of the first death anniversary of the great leader of the proletariat, our founder General Secretary Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

### KARNATAK

## AIDSO's APPEAL

Dec. 26: With the aim of launching an effective and state-wide movement in Karnataka for making the education system democratic, secular, scientific and all the more corruption free the Karnataka State Committee of All India Democratic Students' Organisation has issued an appeal to the students and people in the state to come forward with all round support and co-operation for making their struggle a success.

The Committee has besides demanding in

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urged upon all to grasp correctly the lessons of the Great November Revolution and come forward to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat on our soil which can only lead them in their struggle for emancipation from exploitation and the revolutionary overthrow of this exploitative capitalist system.

# In an integral state like ours the Communists must not demand decentralisation which obstructs unity and cohesion of the toiling people

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opportunistic reactionary character.

For, any genuine Marxist knows that in national affairs, the bourgeoisie always strives either for privileges for its own nation or exclusive advantage for it. The proletariat is opposed to all privileges, to all exceptionalism. Those who demand that it should be 'practical', they are trailing in the wake of the bourgeoisie, are falling into opportunism. For the proletariat, therefore, the national demands should always be subordinate to the interests of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism. It stands for the development of the class and the class aspiration of bringing an end to capitalist system which is the root cause of national oppression along with the oppressions and exploitation in the economic field. The important object of the bourgeoisie when it raises demand is to hamper the process of assimilation and alliance between the toiling people of different nationalities and development of class struggle.

That is why it is the warning of Lenin that :

"The principle of bourgeois nationalism is the development of nationality in general, hence the exclusiveness of bourgeois nationalism, hence endless national bickering. The proletariat however, far from undertaking to uphold the national development of every nation, on the contrary, warns the masses against such illusions, upholds the fullest freedom of capitalist intercourse welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations except forcible assimilation or such that is based on privilege."

That is why, "as long and in so far as different nations constitute an integral state, Marxists will not under any circumstances advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation.....".

For, "a Marxist, must of course admit that all the major and important eco-

nomical and political questions of capitalist society must come within the purview not of autonomous diets of separate regions but exclusively of the central parliament for the whole country."

And, "To fix nationalism within a certain 'justly' limited sphere, to 'constitute' nationalism strongly and durably to fence off all the nations from each other by means of a special state institution—such is the ideological foundation and content of cultural national autonomy. This idea is thoroughly bourgeois and thoroughly false." And to act on this line, Lenin says "means taking the side of reactionary nationalist philistinism". (Lenin—Critical Remarks on National Question—Italics added)

The question may be raised that has not Lenin pleaded for centralism which is democratically and not bureaucratically exercised? Yes, Lenin has definitely stood for it and has shown that autonomy to meet "questions purely local, regional or of purely national significance" is necessary to facilitate concentration of capital, the development of productive forces, the unity of the bourgeoisie as also its antipode, the unity of the proletariat on a country wide scale.

In the light of this law of social development and class struggles as also taking into account the concrete instances of centre's undemocratic interferences in dissolving the State Governments for petty party interest or for dislodging a State Government because of its defence to the cause of the toiling people as happened during the first UF Government in West Bengal in 1967, democratic minded people will demand for an end of this sort of centre's undemocratic interference.

CPI(M) may plead that they too, for the same reason, are demanding the deletion of such provisions which empower the centre to dissolve the State

Government. CPI(M)'s pleading to that effect would have carried conviction with the people had it not been a fact that the same party was urging the Central Government to use this very provision to dissolve the Government in Andhra Pradesh on the plea that it had failed to provide relief to the cyclone victims, although Andhra Government's callousness cannot be supported in any way. Is there, therefore, an iota of consistency and seriousness in the demand for the deletion of a clause which it wants at the same time to be exercised against a State Government? Is it not as serious and consistent as its opposition to MISA and 42nd Amendment? Is it not also a fact that this party demanded of the Central Government and supported it when these very provisions were used against the governments of nine states for early election but it at the same time joined the coalition ministry with the Janata Party in Tripura where the Government was already in its extended tenure by virtue of the 42nd Amendment? Naturally, people can easily distinguish between seriousness and opportunism.

The fundamental point here is that the confrontation between the State Government and the centre which may have bearing on the democratic movement of the people can only arise when the state government takes a resolute stand in defence of people's rights and liberties as also their legitimate democratic movement as happened in 1967 during the first UF Government when the policy enunciated by our great departed leader and teacher that "police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movement" was declared and pursued in the labour ministry by Comrade Subodh Banerjee, provided great encouragement and backing to the struggles of the working people against the monopolists-capitalists. They

raised a hue and cry and taking advantage of it the Centre intervened to topple the ministry in order to get rid of this pro-working people policy. Today, is there any slightest trace of rift between the 'Left Front' Government in the state and the Janata Government at the Centre on the question of the so-called law and order? The state government with whatever power it has got is serving the interests of the monopolists, jotedars and other vested interest. It is suppressing legitimate struggles and movements of the people on the same bourgeois plea of 'law and order'. So, when it demands for more power it is not for serving the cause of the working people but to serve better the interest of the ruling bourgeois class and more particularly the monopoly capital both native and foreign. That is why, except where the mutual interests of the two parliamentary parties clash for wooing the support of the vested interests in the local and regional spheres, these two 'friendly' parties Janata and CPI(M) are in perfect unanimity in upholding the bourgeois 'law and order'. And the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government and its Chief Minister boast success over other state governments in maintaining 'law and order' or in other words silencing the movements of the working people against the capitalists.

Further, does CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government wants more power to fight for the genuine cause of the toiling people of the state against the unjust and harmful policies of the Centre? It does not evince any interest in this regard, too. The Central Government's decision to abolish the restrictions on the movement of cereals and grains and the declaration of free food zone for the whole country was definitely a retrograde step at this stage of monopoly capitalism and particularly when large amount

of speculative capital is working in the food grains trade. The 'Left Front' Government raised objection but it did not go for a real fight by asking the people to organise a state-wide movement and backing it. Rather after some parleys with the Central Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu the Chief Minister backed out by saying that the Centre had taken a wrong decision but for that they could not secede! What do they mean? Do they mean fighting a wrong and unjust decision of the Central Government and even to organise a mighty state-wide movement against that amounts to secession? This also shows that on any real issue where toiling people's vital interest is involved, the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government shows no inclination to take a resolute stand. Otherwise, who does not know that the other day, the people of Baluchistan and the Sindh were fighting Mr. Bhutto's policies even with gun in their hands but that was not a secessionist movement. Is it unknown to Mr. Basu and his Government? If not, then why they bring this irrelevant point?

Moreover, CPI(M) and the 'Left Front' Government are clamouring for autonomy and more powers to the state but do they honour autonomy and freedom as also the democratic functioning of the elected bodies of the educational institutions and municipal or other local bodies? Have they not superseded the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education by using the extraordinary, authoritarian powers of the 42nd Amendment? Are they not dissolving one by one the school committees? Has not the Minister in charge of Secondary Education declared to dissolve all such committees in two districts? They are even trying to take over the administration by dissolving the elected

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bodies of four Universities including the Calcutta University. They are appointing as administrators, their chosen men and are trying to convert these institutions as appendage to their party administration and the government departments. What a respect for autonomy and democratic norm!

Today they are crying for autonomy but the moment they will be in the government at the Centre, they will reverse their stand and become the most ardent advocate for centralism. For this party, truth changes according to the change of position from opposition to ruling party and vice-versa, the real question being how best to serve the interest of the ruling bourgeois class and earn its trust and blessing.

So, when CPI(M) and the 'Left Front' Government led by it, let alone standing by the legitimate democratic movements of the toiling people, are actually suppressing them when they are serving with all the governmental powers and positions at their command, the monopoly bourgeoisie, when they are not even taking a resolute stand against the Centre on any genuine issue of the toiling people, then what is the purpose of raising the slogan of federalism or more power to the states, at this moment, other than misdirecting people's attention from the real issue? In fact, they are trying to be clever by mixing some of the demands that were once raised from the platform of democratic movement in order to advance it but today, the 'Left Front' Government is doing everything under its means to suppress democratic mass movement and even the minimum democratic norm but it is at the same time raising those very slogans as if to show its concern for democratic movement. What can be more glaring an instance of political sophistry and double facedness?

It goes without saying that in a class-divided bourgeois society like ours, 'peace' has its class conno-

## CPI(M)'s proposal is detrimental to the cause of mass movement and will serve the design of the monopoly bourgeoisie

tation. It is the 'peace' of the exploiting ruling class. Ensuring 'peace' and 'law and order' means ensuring capitalist exploitation without any disturbance or resistance from the exploited people. The party which is claiming it to be its greatest achievement is not upholding the cause of the proletariat and the toiling people but is serving and defending the capitalist class at this hour of its crisis.

So, whatever it is doing or saying including this demand for greater autonomy, the CPI(M) has before it the sole object of reaping dividend in bourgeois parliamentary politics. It is now vying with other bourgeois parties in defending the bourgeois class interest and to appear as the national alternative which it calls, the only "viable and democratic alternative".

Judged from all aspects, facts and circumstances the only probable reason for its demand for autonomy is the need, the party feels most at the moment to fill the vacuum growing in the bourgeois politics at the national plane because of internal dissensions and group rivalries in the two principal bourgeois parties. It is getting the backing, all praise and encouragement from the monopoly houses both national and foreign, the different Chambers of Commerce and even the military high officials for creating the most congenial atmosphere for trade and industry in West Bengal which was once a nightmare to them.

The class motive of the monopoly bourgeoisie is not too difficult to understand. Apart from the basic class design of bringing disunity and disarray in the solidarity, cohesion and common object and goal of the class struggle of the proletariat and toiling people of different nationalities by fanning racial and parochial sentiments at this hour of crisis for the capitalist system, it wants to pick up and back such

political force which wears the mask of Leftism or Marxism and as such can bring the confusion most in the working class movement, arrest the mass movement for some time, misdirect it with the help of mechanical cohesion and fanaticism that it has inculcated in its workers and supporters. Taking lesson from European experiences Indian monopoly bourgeoisie picks up this force. The particular monopoly houses who are showing their interest most have for them more than one objects to achieve. They want to handle this political force to make it instrumental in serving and defending their particular interests in their mutual competition between different monopoly houses, both national and foreign, as also to tackle the regional bourgeoisie and regional sentiments.

In the light of this class motive of the monopoly bourgeoisie, the demand for greater autonomy of CPI(M) and the 'Left Front' Government led by it boils down to its desire not to serve the regional bourgeoisie only but more to serve the monopoly bourgeoisie in the regional sphere although it wants at the same time to exploit the regional sentiments for expansion of its field and to appear as champion of regional interests. And it wants to utilise its position and influence in the regional sphere with the sole object of coming to the national sphere as the most dependable force for the ruling class. This party is finding obstacles in showing its full capability in serving the monopoly bourgeoisie from the government in one state. In granting licence, in dealing with bureaucracy, in tackling 'law and order' as also in financial resources, it is to depend on the centre run by a bourgeois party with whom it is in competition in bourgeois politics. Naturally, however 'friendly' CPI(M) may call the party at the centre, it

will not help or oblige CPI(M) in fulfilling its dream. That is why CPI(M) is raising the slogan of decentralisation of powers in direct opposition to Marxism with the sole object of building up its career as the mainstay of bourgeois interest in parliamentary politics. Monopoly capital, therefore, shows great interest and gives backing to this move of CPI(M). No serious political worker can miss this political trend from the attitude and stand of the bourgeois dailies and the bourgeois spokesmen.

But this also creates a serious problem to this party, the problem which is the reflection of the class struggle that goes on and gets intensified independent of the will of CPI(M) or any other party. Because of its pro-monopoly and pro-jotedar attitude and eagerness to serve the ruling class, not only the expectations of the toiling people have been belied but they are facing opposition from the Government led by CPI(M) in organising their legitimate movement and struggle against the capitalists. Resentment is growing as the people see that the 'Left Front' Government has given absolutely free hand to the exploiting community of traders and industrialists and is not lifting its little finger but instead is giving this or that excuse in so-called justification of its inaction. So, CPI(M) is also trying to utilise the constitutional question to divert people's growing resentment against the 'Left Front' Government to some other thing besides diverting the people's attention from the question of real restoration of rights and liberties and vital problems in people's life.

From all this, the class conscious proletariat and the toiling people must draw the appropriate lessons history demands of them. The need of the hour is to frustrate the

## Comrade Fatick Ghosh Greets Engineering Workers

Calcutta, 15th Dec.: Com. Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) has issued the following statement to the press:—

"We congratulate the engineering workers of West Bengal for making the Token Strike called on 15th December '77 for realising their long standing demands a complete success.

"We urge upon them to forge strong unity and prepare themselves for protracted and sustained movement in near future for realisation of their just demands.

"We would also urge upon the Left Front Government to stand behind the movement of the engineering workers so that their legitimate demands can be achieved."

diabolical design of the bourgeoisie to which all the bourgeois and pseudo-left and sham Marxists are giving willing cooperation and most faithful service. The only party of the proletariat in our soil, SUCI calls upon the toiling people of our country to stand in resolute defence of their inalienable rights and liberties and build up mighty democratic movement against the mounting burden of capitalist exploitation. The working people will have to place in the van of their movement, the real revolutionary leadership in order to advance the struggle against capitalism. They are to build up their own instruments of struggle and through them their own political power to hasten their ultimate struggle to bring an end to capitalist slavery.

# Haryana State K.K.M.F Conference held Amidst Tremendous Enthusiasm

The two-day Annual State Conference of Haryana Kishan and Khet Mazdoor Federation held in the midst of tremendous enthusiasm at Kosil in Rohtak district concluded on 26th November last. The inaugural session held on 25th November was presided over by Comrade Balwant Singh. Carrying festoons, red flags and innumerable placards containing various demands and raising slogans, thousands of landless peasants, agricultural labourers and share-croppers paraded the streets of Kosil braving all odds and despite it being the peak period of harvesting and converged at the meeting place. With this vast gathering assembled to hear the tasks lying ahead of them which looked like a sea of humanity, the two-months long hectic preparation undertaken by the Organising Committee formed for the purpose came to a glorious end. Thousands of hand-bills were distributed, posters pasted and hundreds of public meetings were arranged by it during the two months preceding the conference. This evoked tremendous enthusiasm from particularly the agricultural labourers who are increasingly rallying round the State KKMf in ever larger numbers.

Comrade Shankar Singh, Member, of the Central Committee of SUCI and the renowned mass leader during his speech in the open session brilliantly outlined the philosophy of KKMf distinct from other peasant organisations, as propounded by the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide. In his long analytical speech, he showed that the main enemy of the peasants as well as the people was the present capitalist state. The question of emancipation of the people was, naturally, closely linked up with the question of overthrow of the capitalist state machine which in its turn was impossible without establishing the leadership of the genuine revolutionary party in the democratic movement. Comrade Singh also seized the opportunity to analyse the present political situation after ouster of the Congress from the Centre in the last Lok Sabha poll as well as in different State elections held thereafter. He showed, in this connection, how the CPI and CPI(M), the so-called left parties masquerading as 'Communists' acted hand-in-glove with the bourgeois conspiracy in their efforts to

introduce and install the 'two-party system' taking the advantage of the low level of political standard of the people. Comrade Singh, in this connection, pointed out to the vast multitude of the poor peasantry the immortal teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that in spite of severe economic exploitation and political persecution, "a nation can hold high its head with honour if it does not lose its moral character."

The genuine revolutionaries, therefore can ill-afford to ignore the vital task of instilling a sense of revolutionary morality in the masses of the people". The most important thing, at the present moment, Comrade Singh continued, is a correct philosophy, a correct base political line and a genuine revolutionary leadership. In conclusion, he appealed to them that it was SUCI, the party reared by the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in which they will find that much needed correct revolutionary leadership, which alone had held aloft the banner of 'leftism' and nobility of 'Communism'.

Earlier on the 25th November, Comrade Shankar Singh also addressed the Delegate Session, in which delegates from

Kurukshetra, Hissar, Sonapat, Rohtak, Bhiwani, Gurgaon and Mohindergarh districts participated. Comrade Singh dealt at length the historic responsibility of KKMf in the present phase for democratic peasant movement and discussed elaborately as to how to develop the mass organisation, the base of the party and the political power of the people among the masses and how to discharge the responsibility as an organiser. Finally, he urged upon them to close their ranks and to extend their all out co-operation to SUCI the only revolutionary party on Indian soil.

The Main resolution on the present political situation incorporating vital 22 demands including non-interference of police in the legitimate peasant movements as well as strict neutrality of administration, need based minimum wages for rural workers and agricultural labourers, work throughout the year, unemployment allowance, regular supply of all essential commodities at prices within the reach of poor peasants, etc. The Conference elected a Committee of 11 members with Comrade Balwant Singh as President, Comrade Ganpat Ram Bhiwani as Vice-President

and Comrade Bijendar Singh as Secretary.

One of the main centre of attractions of the Conference was the erection of a Book-stall organised on the first day of the open session. It received wide acclaim and created a great impact upon the people. People of their own came and purchased a good number of booklets containing the thoughts of our great departed leader of the proletariat Comrade Ghosh.

## Karnatak AIDS0's Appeal

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general an end of the present undemocratic, religious oriented and unscientific system of education, called upon all in its appeal, to resolutely fight particularly against the present malpractices in the state educational field like running of privately managed colleges, non-payment of teachers' salaries by them, selling of seats in colleges and denial of the students' and teachers' right to represent in such college bodies etc. The appeal has been massively circulated in English and Kanara languages.

## REMEMBERING COMRADE V. NATARAJAN

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Marxist Thinker Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, you Comrades know how to turn our grief into firm determination and revolutionary purposiveness. This is not an empty slogan in our life. If all of your love and emotion for Comrade Natarajan, and your tears have got any meaning then you will have to engage yourselves more vigorously, more devotedly to the relentless struggle for identification more and more with the party and revolution, as Comrade Natarajan did, you will have to build up the only revolutionary party of the country, the SUCI, founded by the great leader of the

proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—for which Comrade Natarajan struggled hard, you will have to make the party bigger and stronger, as the only revolutionary alternative to the people particularly at a time when all the so-called Communist

Parties have betrayed the revolution, and to hold aloft the banner, Comrade Natarajan held high".

Comrade James J. Secretary, Kerala State Organising Committee, and a Comrade-in-arms of Comrade Natarajan, cited many bright aspects of his

revolutionary life and struggle.

Comrade S. Natarajan (Quilon Dist. Committee), Comrade E. G. Gopalakrishnan (Kottayan Dist. Committee), Comrade M. Subramani (Trivandrum Dist. Committee), Comrade Jalaluddin (UTUC Lenin Sarani, Kerala Unit), Comrade M. M. Kema

(Kundra Local Committee), and Comrade Venugopal (AIDS0, Kerala State Committee) also paid homage to Comrade Natarajan. Many coloured posters and paintings, painted by Comrade Natarajan, were exhibited at the meeting place.



On the dais Comrade P. Chanda Member of the C.C. addressing the gathering. Sitting : Comrades James J., C. K. Lukose and Babu.

The homage in Malayalam inscription reads : "Red salute to Com. V. Natarajan who was beloved and respected to all of us, who was firm with revolutionary objectives, who has conducted a difficult struggle to become the worthy disciple of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, who voluntarily shouldered the responsibility of organizing SUCI, the real revolutionary party of India, in the part of Kerala and dedicated everything to that cause".

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE